

Message Text

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E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, MO, US

SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (PARM) PAPER

REF: STATE 38356

1. TO ASSIST EMBASSY WITH ITS PREPARATION OF ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT,FOLLOWING IS THIRD DRAFT OF COUNTRY GUIDANCE PAPER FOR MOROCCO, TO WHICH EMBASSY CONTRIBUTED. PAPER SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE CONSIDERED AS SPECIFIC REGIONAL EMPHASIS PROMISED PARA THREE REFTEL. REGIONAL EMPHASIS WILL BE PROVIDED BY SEPTTEL. COUNTRY GUIDANCE PAPER PROGRAM ALSO SUPERSEDED BY PARM CYCLE.

2. I. OVERVIEW

THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO IS PREDICATED UPON MOROCCO'S GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION ON THE SOUTH COAST OF THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR AND UPON THE PRESENT REGIME'S
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HELPFUL POSITIONS ON REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO US. AS A MODERATE ARAB COUNTRY WITH CLOSE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL TIES TO FRANCE AND THE WEST AS WELL AS THE THIRD WORLD, MOROCCO HAS FUNCTIONED AS A TWO-WAY CHANNEL FOR INFORMATION AND CONTACTS AND FREQUENTLY HAS GIVEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SUPPORT TO U.S. INITIATIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ON KOREA, PUERTO RICO AND ELSEWHERE.

U.S.-MOROCCO RELATIONS, FOLLOWING A COOL PERIOD IN THE EARLY 1970'S, HAVE IMPROVED CONSIDERABLY. THE BASIS OF

OUR CLOSER RELATIONS HAS BEEN OUR GROWING MILITARY SUPPLY PROGRAM AND OUR READINESS TO PROVIDE MORAL AND SELECTED MATERIAL SUPPORT TO MOROCCO IN ITS CONFRONTATION WITH ALGERIA OVER THE WESTERN SAHARA. IN DECIDING TO PROVIDE SUCH SUPPORT TO MOROCCO, WE HAVE TAKEN CARE NOT TO DISTURB THE EXISTING BALANCE OF POWER IN A WAY WHICH WOULD THREATEN REGIONAL STABILITY AND LEAD TO INTERVENTION BY THE MAJOR POWERS. WE ALSO HAVE ENDEAVORED TO PRESERVE AT LEAST MINIMALLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO'S REGIONAL RIVALS, AVOIDING A TOTAL IDENTIFICATION WITH THE EXISTING REGIME IN MOROCCO WHICH MIGHT CAUSE OUR INTERESTS TO SUFFER UNNECESSARILY SHOULD THERE BE A CHANGE. THIS INVOLVES MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THOSE ACTIVITIES WHICH CONCERN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE REGIME AND THOSE WHICH IMPACT ON MOROCCAN SOCIETY GENERALLY TO ENSURE THAT THE RELATIVE WEIGHT WE ATTACH TO EACH REFLECTS THE KIND OF BALANCE WE WANT.

FOR THE MOMENT KING HASSAN II SITS SECURELY ON HIS THRONE, RIDING THE CREST OF A WAVE OF POPULARITY GENERATED BY HIS SUCCESSFUL DRIVE TO INCORPORATE THE SPANISH SAHARA INTO MOROCCO. HIS MORE ACTIVE STYLE OF LEADERSHIP HAS SERVED TO DISPEL MUCH EARLIER CRITICISM AND HIS OWN APPRAISAL IS SUFFICIENTLY CONFIDENT THAT HE RECENTLY PERMITTED ELECTIONS IN MOROCCO FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1970. HOWEVER, TO PROTECT HIS NEWFOUND STABILITY, THE KING MUST
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SUCCESSFULLY CONSOLIDATE HIS SAHARAN GAINS AND, OVER THE LONGER TERM, REDUCE THE IMPACT OF CERTAIN MOROCCAN SOCIETAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT, RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION, HIGH RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH, INFLATION AND UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME. IN THIS REGARD HASSAN HAS URGED INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT WITH EMPHASIS ON THE PHOSPHATE INDUSTRY, DAM AND IRRIGATION PROJECTS. DURING THE 1968-72 FIVE YEAR PLAN MOROCCO'S ANNUAL GROWTH RATE EXCEEDED SIX PERCENT AND THIS RATE HAS BEEN MAINTAINED DURING THE PRESENT PLAN, LARGELY THROUGH LARGE PUBLIC SECTOR INVESTMENT, DESPITE A PERIOD OF SERIOUS WORLD RECESSION. IF THE KING SHOULD PASS FROM THE SCENE FOR WHATEVER REASON IT SEEMS THAT THE MILITARY, APPARENTLY A CONSERVATIVE WESTERN-ORIENTED BODY, WOULD BE THE ONLY ORGANIZATION CAPABLE INITIALLY OF MAINTAINING ORDER AND GIVING DIRECTION TO THE COUNTRY.

AS A TOOL IN THE MAINTENANCE OF DOMESTIC SERENITY AS WELL AS FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS, AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MOROCCO IS OUR PARTICIPATION IN

BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE SCHEMES. U.S. AID TO MOROCCO FROM 1956 TO THE PRESENT WHICH, AT 855 MILLION DOLLARS, TOTALS MORE THAN THAT EXTENDED TO ANY OTHER

AFRICAN COUNTRY, IS INTENDED TO HELP DEVELOP A SELF-SUSTAINING ECONOMY WITH A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS AND CONSEQUENT IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR INTERNAL STABILITY.

PERHAPS BETTER THAN WE, THE MOROCCANS UNDERSTAND THE BARGAINING PROCESS. IN DEALING WITH THEM WE SHOULD EXPECT TO GIVE AND BE PREPARED TO DEMAND RECIPROCAL FAVORS RECOGNIZING THAT A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITHOUT SUBSTANTIVE DIVIDENDS HAS LITTLE INTRINSIC VALUE. THIS WILL BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE MOROCCAN COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AS WELL AS IN THE BILATERAL FRAMEWORK. THERE ARE
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NO MAJOR BILATERAL PROBLEMS AFFECTING U.S.-MOROCCAN RELATIONS NOW THAT THE QUESTIONS ARISING FROM MOROCCANIZATION OF CERTAIN U.S. BUSINESS INTERESTS ARE NEARLY ALL RESOLVED.

THE CURRENT AND POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MOROCCO AS A MARKET FOR U.S. EXPORTS SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED. MOROCCO HAS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DIVERSIFYING ITS SOURCES OF SUPPLY AND NEED NOT REMAIN A FRENCH PRESERVE; IT IS A NEAR TWO BILLION DOLLAR ANNUAL MARKET WHICH IS OPEN TO U.S. BUSINESS AND AMERICAN FIRMS NEED TO BE ENCOURAGED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES THERE. CURRENT AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN MOROCCO TOTALS ONLY ABOUT 70 MILLION DOLLARS BUT WHILE OTHER INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES EXIST, PARTICULARLY IN FISHING, AGRICULTURE AND EXPORT-ORIENTED LIGHT INDUSTRY, AT PRESENT U.S. FIRMS WOULD BENEFIT MOST FROM COMPETITION FOR CONTRACTS STEMMING FROM GOM PUBLIC SECTOR DEVELOPMENT INVESTMENT.

3. II. MAJOR U.S. INTERESTS

A. POLITICAL. 1. THAT MOROCCO REMAIN WELL DISPOSED TOWARD U.S. AIMS AND INTERESTS ON A REGIONAL AND WORLD-WIDE BASIS. 2. THAT MOROCCO CONTINUE ITS PRESENT MODERATE AND SUPPORTIVE STANCE ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS OF INTEREST TO THE U.S. AND THAT IT PROVIDE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SUPPORT FOR ANY NEW U.S. INITIATIVES TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. 3. FROM (1) AND (2) ABOVE IT FOLLOWS THAT THE U.S. HAS AN INTEREST IN THE STABILITY OF THE PRESENT REGIME SO LONG AS IT REMAINS WELL-DISPOSED TOWARDS US AND AN INTEREST IN ASSURING AN EQUALLY COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF ANY SUCCESSOR REGIMES. 4. THAT MOROCCO AND ALGERIA

NOT ENGAGE IN A MILITARY CONFRONTATION OVER THE SAHARA, AND THAT THE GREAT POWERS OR THEIR SURROGATES NOT BECOME
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ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE SAHARA DISPUTE. 5. THAT THE GOM, INFORMED OF OUR INTENT TO CLOSE THE U.S. NAVY COMMUNICATIONS COMPLEX AT KENITRA IN 1977-1978, CONTINUE TO ACCEPT THE DECISION AS TECHNICALLY MOTIVATED RATHER THAN MISREADING IT AS A SIGN OF LESSENING U.S. INTEREST. 6. THAT THE GOM REMAIN AMENABLE TO USG PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH A GROUND-BASED ELECTRO-OPTICAL DEEP SPACE SURVEILLANCE (GEODSS) SITE OR SUCH OTHER FACILITIES IN MOROCCO AS THE USG MAY CONSIDER NECESSARY. 7. THAT THE GOM PERMIT US TO RETAIN THE VOA RELAY STATION AT TANGIER, EVEN IF THE CONSULATE GENERAL IN TANGIER SHOULD EVENTUALLY BE CLOSED.

B. ECONOMIC. 1. THAT AMERICAN BUSINESS INCREASE SUBSTANTIALLY ITS SHARE OF THE MOROCCAN MARKET. 2. THAT EXISTING AND FUTURE U.S. INVESTMENTS IN MOROCCO BE PROTECTED. 3. THAT OUR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS BE MAINTAINED.

4. III. U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES AND COURSES OF ACTION

A. MAINTAIN CLOSE, MATURE POLITICAL/MILITARY RELATIONS: OBJECTIVE: WITHOUT OVER-COMMITTING OURSELVES, MAINTAIN CLOSE AND CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO. COURSES OF ACTION:

-- OUR APPROACH TO MOROCCAN EXPECTATIONS OF US SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE SYMPATHETIC AND FORTHCOMING, COMMENSURATE WITH OUR PERCEPTION OF U.S. INTERESTS IN A GIVEN SITUATION. WE SHOULD TAKE CARE NOT TO APPEAR TO REPLACE FRANCE AS THE PREDOMINANT WESTERN POWER IN MOROCCO, THEREBY AVOIDING MOROCCAN OVERDEPENDENCE ON US.

-- WE SHOULD MAINTAIN OUR POLICY OF MILITARY SALES AND ASSISTANCE TO MOROCCO KEEPING CLOSE TABS ON MOROCCAN MILITARY ACQUISITIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES TO BE SURE THE
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REGIONAL POWER BALANCE IS NOT UPSET.

-- WE SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE U.S. PROFILE IN MOROCCO HAS GROWN IN RECENT YEARS AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO AS OUR MILITARY SUPPLY PROGRAM PEAKS AND BUSINESS INTERESTS INCREASE. SO FAR THE MOROCCANS HAVE FAVORED THIS BUT WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL TO LIMIT THE GROWTH OF OUR OFFICIAL PRESENCE TO REDUCE THE CHANCE OF THE MOROCCAN PERCEPTION OF US CHANGING FROM SUPPORTIVE FRIEND TO OPPRESSIVE EXTERNAL INFLUENCE.

B. MAINTAIN MOROCCAN PRO-WEST ORIENTATION IN MULTILATERAL

AFFAIRS: OBJECTIVE: TO KEEP MOROCCO IN THE WESTERN CAMP AND RECEPTIVE TO OUR MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS AND OTHER MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES. COURSES OF ACTION:

-- WE SHOULD CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE GOM TO AVOID CONFRONTATION IN THOSE AREAS, SUCH AS THE CIEC AND LAW OF THE SEA, WHERE OUR INTERESTS DO NOT COINCIDE PRECISELY.

-- KEEP KING HASSAN II PRIVATELY INFORMED OF OUR ACTIVITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE FACT.

-- CONTINUE TO MAKE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS TO THE MOROCCANS, URGING THEIR SUPPORT AND VOTES ON MATTERS OF IMPORTANCE TO US BUT WHERE THEIR OWN INTERESTS ARE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED, SUCH AS KOREA AND PUERTO RICO.

-- WHEREVER POSSIBLE, VIEW FAVORABLY MOROCCAN REQUESTS FOR RECIPROCAL SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY ON ISSUES INVOLVING THE WESTERN SAHARA OR, WITH REGIONAL GROUP CONCURRENCE, THE CANDIDACIES OF MOROCCANS FOR VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL POSTS.

C. REGIONAL STABILITY: OBJECTIVES: TO DO WHAT WE CAN
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TO ASSURE THAT THE PRESENT DELICATE SITUATION IN THE MAGHREB DOES NOT BECOME FURTHER INFLAMED DUE TO TENSIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA OVER THE SAHARA. COURSES OF ACTION:

-- RECOGNIZE THAT OUR INFLUENCE IS LIMITED IN MATTERS INVOLVING THE SAHARA, WHERE THE MOROCCANS ARE WHOLLY COMMITTED, AND THAT LITTLE COMMON GROUND FOR MOROCCAN-ALGERIAN NEGOTIATIONS EXISTS.

-- ENCOURAGE THIRD PARTY MEDIATION EFFORTS, REMAINING ALOOF FROM SUCH EFFORTS OURSELVES BUT DISCREETLY PROMOTING A PEACEFUL OUTCOME.

-- SUPPORT UN RESOLUTIONS WHICH MIGHT AID IN RESOLVING THE DISPUTE OR CONTRIBUTE TO REGIONAL STABILITY.

-- PRIVATELY WELCOME MOROCCAN EFFORTS AT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE SAHARA AIMED AT ENABLING THE SAHARAN PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN MOROCCAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

-- WITHOUT INTERVENING IN MOROCCAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS,

EXPRESS APPROVAL AT ONGOING GOM EFFORTS TO HOLD ELECTIONS AND TO TAKE OTHER STEPS TOWARD POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION.

D. ENCOURAGEMENT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS ACTIVITY: OBJECTIVE: TO FACILITATE THE RAPID GROWTH OF AMERICAN BUSINESS PARTICIPATION IN THE MOROCCAN ECONOMY AND ASSIST MOROCCAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE PROVISION OF JOBS. COURSES OF ACTION:

-- EMPHASIZE TO THE GOM WHEREVER POSSIBLE OUR INTEREST IN TWO WAY TRADE WITH MOROCCO WHILE LIMITING PROTECTIONIST MEASURES WHICH RESTRICT MOROCCO'S ABILITY TO EXPORT TO
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THE U.S.

-- ENCOURAGE U.S. PARTICIPATION IN AND PENETRATION OF THE MOROCCAN PHOSPHATE INDUSTRY SO THAT CONTACTS AND CONNECTIONS WILL EXIST AGAINST THE DAY, PERHAPS TWO DECADES OFF, WHEN THE U.S. MUST BEGIN TO IMPORT MOROCCAN PHOSPHATES.

-- WHEREVER POSSIBLE EMPHASIZE, THROUGH CONTACTS BETWEEN U.S. BUSINESSMEN AND THEIR MOROCCAN COUNTERPARTS OR OFFICIALS OF THE USG, THE ADVANTAGES OF DOING BUSINESS IN MOROCCO, WHILE BEING CAREFUL TO INFORM THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN OF THE HAZARDS AS WELL.

-- CONTINUE ENDEAVORS TO GET THE GOM TO PUBLICIZE TENDERS FOR BIDS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO ALLOW TIME FOR DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE DISSEMINATION OF THIS INFORMATION TO AMERICAN FIRMS WITH SUFFICIENT LEAD TIME TO PERMIT THEM TO PREPARE A BID.

-- AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BRING THE ALREADY INITIALED U.S.-MOROCCAN DOUBLE TAXATION TREATY TO SIGNATURE AND PUBLICIZE THE FACT OF ITS SIGNATURE TO THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

-- IN CONVERSATIONS WITH MOROCCAN OFFICIALS DO ALL POSSIBLE TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE IMPORTANCE OF AMICABLE RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS WITH AMERICAN FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS STEMMING FROM THE MOROCCANIZATION PROGRAM.

RGE MOROCCAN POLICY MAKERS AND TECHNOCRATS TO LOOSEN RESTRICTIONS ON REPATRIATION OF PROFITS FROM MOROCCO AND EXPLAIN TO THEM THE NECESSITY FOR PERMITTING A FOREIGN FIRM TO MAKE A REASONABLE PROFIT ON ITS INVESTMENT.

-- RECOGNIZE THAT THIS COURSE OF ACTION NOT ONLY BENEFITS

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THE U.S. FIRMS WHICH PROFIT AND ASSISTS THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DRAIN, IT HELPS THE MOROCCAN BY PROVIDING PROFITS, JOBS, PHYSICAL PLANT DEVELOPMENT AND INVALUABLE EXPERIENCE. THIS OPTION IS PARTICULARLY ATTRACTIVE TO THE USG BECAUSE IT REQUIRES SUCH A SMALL INPUT OF GOVERNMENT RESOURCES.

D. MOROCCAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: OBJECTIVE: TO CONTRIBUTE AS APPROPRIATE TO MOROCCAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. COURSES OF ACTION:

-- AS A SIGN OF HUMANITARIAN INTEREST AND TO EASE THE BURDEN PLACED ON THE MOROCCAN BUDGET BY ITS FOOD SUBSIDY PROGRAM, CONTINUE PROVISION OF PL 480 TITLE I AND II FOODSTUFFS IN PROPORTION TO THE NEED.

-- CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS THROUGH THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP OF DONORS IN AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION WITHIN MOROCCO OF MULTILATERAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

-- REMAIN ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THE USE OF FUNDING FOR MULTI-PURPOSE PROGRAMS. RETAIN EMPHASIS ON PROGRAMS WHICH BENEFIT THE POOREST SEGMENTS OF MOROCCAN SOCIETY WHILE MAKING CERTAIN THAT THESE PROGRAMS RETURN VISIBLE SUBSTANTIVE BENEFITS IN AREAS WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABILITY OF MOROCCAN SOCIETY.

-- INVESTIGATE THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING NEW PROGRAMS WHICH ARE OF INTEREST TO THE MOROCCANS SUCH AS INCREASED UNIVERSITY-LEVEL SCHOLARSHIPS IN THE U.S. FOR MOROCCAN STUDENTS.

-- BEGIN PLANNING TRANSITIONAL MEASURES LOOKING TOWARDS A MORE ACTIVE U.S. PRIVATE SECTOR ROLE IN CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND THE EVENTUAL PHASEDOWN OF USAID
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ACTIVITIES AS MOROCCO ADVANCES INTO THE RANKS OF THE MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

5. IV. U.S. RESOURCES FOR MOROCCO

THE EMBASSY HAS ALREADY RECOMMENDED PERSONNEL REDUCTIONS IN THOSE AREAS WHERE SUCH ACTION SEEMED FEASIBLE AND, GENERALLY SPEAKING, FUTURE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF U.S. INTERESTS IN MOROCCO WILL REQUIRE MAINTENANCE OF CURRENT PERSONNEL LEVELS. ADDITIONAL TRAINING NEEDS RELATED TO THE INFLUX OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT WILL BE MET BY TDY TEAMS SENT TO MOROCCO.

6. TABLE I

PERSONNEL RESOURCES FOR AGENCY FOR CURRENT AND NEXT TWO
FISCAL YEARS:

FY-77		FY-78 (A)		FY-79 (A)		
US - LOCAL		US - LOCAL		US - LOCAL		
50	153	50	153	50	153	STATE
44	10	44	10	44	10	DOD (B)
9	34	9	34	9	34	USIA
24	18	23	18	23	18	AID (C)
2	1	2	1	2	1	USDA
4	13	5	13	5	13	PEACE CORPS (D)
3	0	3	0	3	0	DEA

(A) ALL FIGURES SUBJECT TO REVISION.
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(B) INCLUDES 14 MARINE GUARDS.
(C) EXCLUDES TWO CONTRACT-HIRE AMERICANS.
(D) EXCLUDES 153 VOLUNTEERS.

NOTE: STATE TOTAL MAY INCREASE BY ONE OFFICER AND ONE
SECRETARY IN FY-77 IF SY RECEIVES A REQUESTED SUPPLE-
MENTAL APPROPRIATION FROM CONGRESS TO FUND SOME 80 NEW
POSITIONS WORLDWIDE.

7. TABLE II

PROGRAM RESOURCES IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS BY TYPE OF
PROGRAM FOR CURRENT AND NEXT TWO YEARS (A):

FY-76	FY-77	FY-78	FY-79	
(PLUS TQ)	(EST)	(EST)	(EST)	
AID				
14.8	7	7	7	PL-480, TITLE I
14.1	11.1	11.1	8.3	PL-480, TITLE II
13	--	5	--	DEVELOPMENT LOANS
1.7	2.8	3.8	3	GRANTS

USIA				
1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	USIS PROGRAM (B)
.094	.102	.102	.102	EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE (C)

DOD

.9 .9 1.2 1.2 MAP TRAINING
30 30 45 45 FMS CREDITS

- (A) ALL FIGURES SUBJECT TO BUDGETARY REVIEW.
- (B) USIS TOTALS MAY BE SHARPLY REDUCED IF, AS EXPECTED, USIA IS FACED WITH A BUDGET CUT.
- (C) FUNDED BY STATE, CU.

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